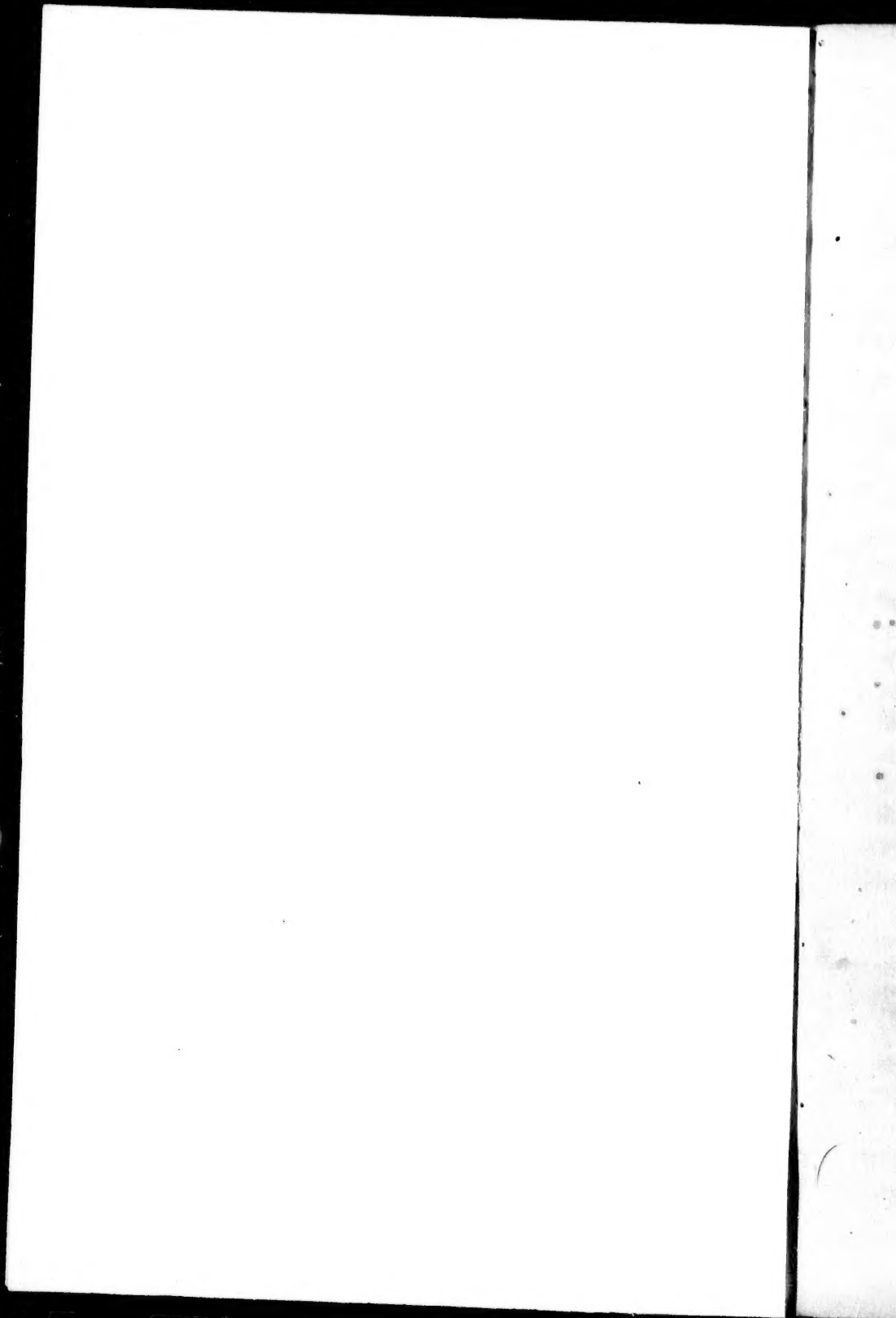




3.
AN

ADDRESS

TO

WILLIAM TUDOR, Esq.

AUTHOR OF

Letters on the Eastern States.

INTENDED TO PROVE

THE CALUMNY AND SLANDER

OF HIS REMARKS ON

THE OLIVE BRANCH.

PHILADELPHIA:

M. CAREY AND SON, CHESNUT-STREET.

1821.

1821

(7)

B851

on
fla
of
st
an
ha
ab
te
th
th
tic

ly
th
lar
ric
de
pr

th
at

PREFACE.

ALTHOUGH the Olive Branch has had an extraordinary degree of success, and received the most flattering testimonials of approbation from a variety of citizens, whose public spirit, intelligence, and standing in society, attach great value to their praise, and render it a just subject of gratification; yet it has not escaped the utmost malice and bitterness of abuse and reproach. Perhaps the violence and intemperance of those who have assailed it, render their vituperation as valuable as the applause of those who have honoured it with their commendation.

It is true, the number of those who have so grossly vilified the work, is but small—and none of them have ever condescended to enter into particulars, to justify their denunciations. They have run riot, in general reviling and declamation, without detailing its errors—controverting its facts—or disproving its inductions.

Among these critics, I shall here notice only two, the Hon. R. H. Goldsborough, United States Senator from the state of Maryland—and Wm. Tudor,

Esq. of Boston. The former gentleman, in reply to a civil, inoffensive circular letter, (a) which I sent him in common with other members of congress, (b) requesting information, in order to correct the work, if necessary, proffered his services on a plan, as admirable for its fairness and candour, as for its entire novelty. He very kindly offered to correct the work, by "*blotting out every line, as being a cruel fraud upon the unsuspecting credulity of the unwary, and as a durable conservatory of materials calculated to extend error and engender hatred.*" (c) This liberal offer gave rise to a correspondence which forms the appendix to this pamphlet. Mr. G. was so confident of the merits of his strictures, that he urged their publication ~~early last spring~~. "I hope you will oblige me so far as to determine on their publication, together with the whole of our correspondence, as I am quite willing to risk what you consider my criticism before the world." (d) I now comply with his desire.

The other gentleman, Mr. Tudor, early last spring, after a lapse of above five years from the first pub-

(a) See Appendix A.

(b) It may be proper to inform the reader, that feeling a sincere desire of rendering the work as correct as possible, I printed circulars previous to putting the different editions to press, which I transmitted to the officers of government, members of both houses of congress, and other gentlemen, soliciting information and the correction of errors. It is painful to me to state, that I never received a single item of information from either the executive, the heads of departments, or members of congress. Richard Rush, esq. former Attorney General, and Joseph Nourse, esq. Register General, afforded me whatever aid was in their power, which, by the way, was not very important. Scarcely one of the letters addressed to the other gentlemen, was answered.

(c) See Appendix B.

(d) See page 63.

lication of the O. B. and when it was nearly forgotten, drew a hideous picture of it, as well as of the motives and object of its author, in his "*Letters on the Eastern States.*"

It was not without reluctance that I determined to reply to Mr. Tudor, and, through him, to the other writers who had vilified my work. The "*Letters on the Eastern States*" possess very considerable merit, and are likely to become popular. They will very probably penetrate into circles, which the Olive Branch has never entered, and be read by persons who never had, and perhaps may never have, an opportunity of testing the merits of the criticism, and who would of course form unfavourable and hostile opinions of the work and its author. I respectfully submit therefore to the public, whether I had any alternative but to appear by silence to acquiesce in the justice of the shocking allegations against my work, or to vindicate it and myself.

Irksome as the latter course is, the choice was not difficult. The path of duty was plain and unequivocal.

Besides the personal motives which led to this course, there was an inducement of a higher nature.

The Olive Branch is a desultory history of the errors, and guilt, and dangers of faction—and of the erratic and sinister course of the two parties, which have heretofore divided this nation—and whose mutual jealousy, hatred, and opposition, have operated so perniciously on the best interests of the country, and occasionally defeated some of the most salutary measures that human wisdom could devise. It contains a great collection of materials for future his-

torians, many of which, taken from gazettes and other ephemeral publications, it will at a future day be difficult to find elsewhere. It is therefore incumbent on me to establish the injustice of the accusations by which it has been attempted to be overwhelmed.

Unwilling to believe that Mr. Tudor was capable of a cool, deliberate departure from truth, I wrote him a letter on the 25th of October, requesting a reconsideration of the subject, and a review of the facts and reasoning on which my defence rested. He acknowledges to have read the principal part of that defence—but pertinaciously resolves to continue his calumny in a second edition, "*with a few slight alterations.*" On this conduct I forbear comment.

I annex the correspondence.

William Tudor, Esq.

SIR,

COMMON fame has pronounced you author of the "Letters on the Eastern States," and will, I presume, warrant me in addressing you as such.

The second letter contains a most egregious misrepresentation of the Olive Branch and its author, to which I have begun a regular reply in the Belles Lettres Repository, published in New-York. The first No. appeared on the 15th of this month, and the second is to be published the 15th of November. I have only to request that before you publish a second edition of your letters, you will examine the work in question again, or wait until my answer is complete—as I am quite certain you will find your review manifestly incorrect. The "*few slips*" of

"one side" amount to at least 20—and "*all the violences,*" "*all the ebullitions*" of the other, do not amount to the five hundredth part of what has appeared. The whole of the extracts that I have made against the federalists do not amount to a tythe of what has been written by *one man*, or what has appeared in one newspaper in a single month.

Your obt. hble. servt.

MATHEW CAREY.

Philadelphia, Oct. 25. 1820.

—
"Boston, Dec. 26th, 1820.

"SIR,

"YOUR letter of October 25th was received in due course. I wished to see the printed letters you referred to, before returning an answer. At the time the New-York magazine could not be found here. I left town soon after, on a distant visit of several weeks. Since my return, I have got the No. for November, but cannot find that for October, containing your first letter. In consequence of your written letter, I have made two or three slight alterations, which you perhaps may not deem important, for a second edition that will be commenced in a few days.

"You are right in considering me the author of 'Letters on the Eastern States;' a fact I never intended to conceal from any person who might think himself injured by the work. If your book had been avowedly a crimination of one party, or a defence of the other, I should have made no objection; it was the disguise of its title, its pretended candour and impartiality, and the wide circulation so industri-

ously given to it, which led to my remarks. *If it be mischievous to keep alive hatred and prejudice, to exasperate the passions, and give false impressions to one part respecting another, of the community, the epithet belongs to your Olive Branch.*

"It is not my intention to engage in any discussion. Your work came in my way, and I gave my opinion of it. If it be a fair, manly exhibition of our two great political parties, without disguise or partiality, what I have said of it is then a misrepresentation; if it be otherwise, I have spoken of it justly.

"Your hble. servt.

"W. TUDOR."

"M. CAREY, Esq."

William Tudor, Esq.

SIR,

I HAVE received yours of the 25th ult. which I have read with sincere regret.

Until I perused it, I had fondly flattered myself into the opinion, that the false allegations respecting me and the Olive Branch, contained in your "Letters on the Eastern States," might have arisen from inadvertence; and that you might have formed your opinions without due examination of the work, and perhaps from hearsay. Had this been the case, you would not be the first critic who displayed his skill by the condemnation of a work which he had not perused.

Your letter has undeceived me. It evinces that you knew your allegations to be false, and that you

adduced them with malice prepense ; as, from the length of time that has elapsed since the publication of your work, and the appeal made to your candour in my letter of the 25th of October, you have had ample opportunity to reconsider the subject, and satisfy yourself of the excessive injustice of your accusations : and yet, instead of making the amende honorable, you pertinaciously maintain the ground you originally took.

I have, I trust, established this point beyond the possibility of doubt, in a pamphlet which will appear very shortly, and which shall be forwarded to you immediately on its publication.

I shall not, therefore, enter into a detail of the numerous falsehoods which you have compressed into the compass of a short paragraph. I shall confine myself to a single one, referring you, for the remainder, to the pamphlet itself.

You assert, that in stating the errors and guilt of the democratic party, I have confined myself to "*a few slips—!!!*" which I have "*softened with pathetic apologies.*"

In the second number of my address, contained in the New-York Belles Lettres Repository, which, in your letter of the 25th ult. you acknowledge to have read, I have enumerated no less than fourteen items of accusation against that party, some of them of a heinous character, viz.

I. The Western Insurrection.

II. The establishment of Democratic Societies to overawe the Government.

III. The defence of the atrocities of the French Revolution.

IV. The opposition to a Navy.

V. The clamour against the Alien and Sedition Laws.

VI. The opposition to Jay's Treaty.

VII. The rejection of Monroe and Pinckney's Treaty.

VIII. The non-renewal of the Charter of the Bank of the United States.

IX. The rejection of the Armistice proposed by Admiral Warren.

X. The appointment of Mr. Gallatin as Ambassador to England.

XI. The choice of Gottenburg as the theatre of negotiation.

XII. The mismanagement that led to the capture of Washington.

XIII. The dependence on Loans for the support of the war at its commencement.

XIV. The neglect of due preparations for the defence of the country after the downfall of Bonaparte.

Besides these, there are eight or ten other heads of accusation against the same party in the O. B. which, to avoid prolixity, I pass over. This list, I repeat, you had before your eyes; and yet, sir, in defiance of this irresistible evidence, you slanderously persist in your accusation, that I have confined myself to "*a few slips*," which I have "*softened with pathetic regrets and apologies !!*"

I am warranted, I trust, in the opinion, that few instances have occurred, of a more complete disregard of truth and fact, than this obstinate adherence to a false accusation displays. In the course of a long life, I have met with nothing parallel.

For these strong positions no apology is made, nor is any necessary. I should not be quite so unceremonious with you, but that you have set me the example. A man who uses the strong language of vituperation in which you have indulged; who accuses another of "*hypocritical pretences*"—of "*disguise*"—of "*pretended candour*"—in a word, of a dereliction of honour and principle, (which is the import of your criticism, when fairly analyzed,) has no right to complain, if he receive "measure for measure."

From your decision, the result of prejudice, party passions, and malice, I appeal to the public. On their award, I rest my cause. To that award I shall cheerfully submit, with a full confidence that every man of candour will pronounce you a gross calumniator.

To the formation of a correct decision between you and me, it is necessary to take into consideration the time when—and the circumstances under which—we respectively wrote. I wrote in Nov. 1814, when the country was endangered by a foreign enemy, whose immense disposable force was liberated from employment in Europe, and might all be poured on our shores—when the pulpits rung in Boston and elsewhere with calls on "Moses and Aaron" for guidance into the Land of Promise—when the capital of the nation had been captured and its splendid buildings Vandalically consigned to the flames—when a Gothic naval commander, by the particular direction of his sovereign, had menaced our whole maritime frontier with destruction—when, in the midst of this complicated scene of distress and

horror, calculated to unite in the common cause every man, who had a spark of public spirit, the legislature of Massachusetts had recently issued a manifesto, strongly recommending that "*the real friends of peace would continue conscientiously to refrain from affording any voluntary aid or encouragement to this most disastrous war*"—when the Hartford convention was sitting—and when, in fine, I was haunted day and night, whether right or wrong, with the terrors of a dissolution of the union, and a consequent civil warfare. Had I, under such circumstances, written somewhat intemperately in defence of the country and the union, against those whose measures appeared to menace such a catastrophe—surely the error was venial—surely "the recording angel would shed a tear over it, and blot it out for ever."

But when, Mr. Tudor, did you write? and what is your apology for raking up the ashes and rekindling the fires of party passions? you wrote in the year 1820, when party was so nearly annihilated in most parts of the union that there was scarcely a trace of it in existence—when every good citizen was disposed to bury in oblivion the errors, follies, and guilt of past times, and smoke the calumet of peace—when many of the most ardent opposers of Mr. Madison's administration were among the most zealous supporters of that of Mr. Monroe—when, in fine, every motive of policy, prudence, and common sense, entered a solemn protest against touching the inauspicious subject, even if your accusations were irrefragable, and, *a fortiori*, as they were utterly destitute of truth. "Preserve me from my friends,"

says the Spanish proverb, "and I will guard against my enemies." If you intended to serve, or ingratiate yourself with, the party whom you undertake to vindicate, you afford a most felicitous illustration of the adage.

"If it be mischievous," you say, "to keep alive hatred and prejudices—to exasperate the passions—and give false impressions to one part, respecting another, of the community, the epithet" [what epithet?] "belongs to your Olive Branch."

Before admitting the correctness of this superfine logic, which is a luminous instance of the *petitio principii*, it is necessary for you to prove that the tendency of the work is "to keep alive hatred and prejudices—to exasperate the passions—and give false impressions to one part, respecting another, of the community."

To this proof I dare you, with the fullest confidence of a total failure.

I have sometimes attempted to reconcile angry and irritated individuals:—and as there were almost always "faults on both sides," I uniformly found, that the safest and most certain course of proceeding was to convince each of his error, in order to produce a conciliatory spirit. On this system was predicated the plan of the Olive Branch—and notwithstanding the petulant, oracular, and dogmatical denunciation of the author of "*Letters on the Eastern States*," I am supported by a large proportion of the best men in the country, in the opinion that it has had a considerable effect in allaying the deleterious spirit of party.

I now bid you, I hope, a final farewell. "It is not," to repeat your own words, "my intention to engage in any discussion" with you. Your virulent lampoon "came in my way:" and in my own defence "I gave my opinion of it;" with what justice, let the public decide.

Your obt. hble. servt.

MATHEW CAREY.

Philadelphia, Jan. 6, 1821.

P. S. This correspondence, with the exposure of your gross misrepresentation, shall be deposited in most of the libraries in Massachusetts.

I fondly hope I shall be believed when I solemnly declare, that I have entered on this defence with deep regret—that there is not a man in the nation who more sincerely wishes to bury in oblivion the errors and follies of past times—and to make the most earnest efforts to foster a spirit of harmony and conciliation, than

the public's obt. hble. servt.

M. C.

Philadelphia, Jan. 15. 1821.

ADDRESS, &c.

NO. I.

SIR,

YOUR second letter contains some extremely severe strictures on the Olive Branch, and its author. The title of the former you regard as an egregious misnomer, and declare it ought to be, "*the Torch of Alecto, or perpetual rancour and animosity.*" To the latter you ascribe motives of the most sinister and dishonourable kind.

Although perfectly satisfied of the glaring injustice of this sentence of condemnation, I had some hesitation about undertaking a vindication. I felt inclined to let the decision rest with the public ; as I had flattered myself that the Olive Branch had taken its permanent stand in the public estimation, by a sort of common consent of all parties ; that it was regarded as the production of a man of moderate talents, but of considerable industry and research ; that it was admitted to have contributed, in no small degree, towards allaying the deleterious spirit of party, so injurious to republics, by holding the mirror up to both parties, and by displaying the enormous follies, and worse than follies, of which they had respectively been guilty ; and, finally, that it was, at least, as free

from undue bias or partiality, as, human imperfection considered, could have been reasonably expected. If in these favourable opinions I erred, I was in a great degree excusable, as they had been reiterated to me from various and opposite quarters of the union, by some of the wisest, best, and most enlightened members of both the contending parties.

To one characteristic, I presumed, this work could fairly lay claim—that it is, probably, the only one ever written by a professed party man, which unqualifiedly holds up his own party to censure. This, I hoped, would atone for its errors, whatever they might be.

But it appears, according to your dictum, that I was egregiously wrong ; that I was under a most extraordinary delusion ; as “ *a more malignant design was never planned,*” than actuated the writer of this “ *Torch of Alecto;*” which beldame, Alecto, is one of the furies, whose head is surrounded by vipers, and who is armed with scourges, vipers, and torches. This, truly, is a most tremendous denunciation ; and, if any thing more than the effusion of a distempered and heated imagination, would prove me utterly unworthy of the delicate and important task I undertook.

Your whole letter, on the politics of the country, is radically wrong, and places the parties, their principles, their views, and their conduct, in an incorrect point of light. It as unjustly elevates the one, as it depreciates the other. It might have been pardonable, if written in 1812, '13, or '14, during the effervescence of party spirit and faction ; but, written in 1820, is as striking an instance of delusion and error as probably ever was exhibited. Both parties have

egregiously and ruinously erred ; and it is no easy matter to determine which has the greatest catalogue of errors to atone for.

With the view, however, which you have given of the parties, I have no concern. Let those who feel interested, point out its errors. My business is with the judgment you have allowed yourself to pass on me and my work.

But in order to enable those who may read this reply, and may not have read the " Letters on the Eastern States," to form a correct opinion on the subject, and to guard against the charge of misquotation, I annex the exceptionable part of your letter in full :

" An octavo volume, *compiled* by an Irish book-seller in Philadelphia, has, if the title page may be believed, gone through a dozen editions : " patriotism and profit are both served by the sale " of the work, which is entitled, ' The Olive Branch, " or Faults on both Sides.' Under this pretty name, " parties are to be reconciled, and differences healed, by a candid exhibition of mutual errors.— " What is the performance ? Passing over the dullness of a parcel of extracts from old newspapers, " *it has selected, with a delicacy and tenderness truly affectionate, a few slips on one side, which are* " softened with pathetic regrets and apologies ; " but from the other, *the strongest passages in remonstrances against particular measures ; ALL the violences of newspaper paragraphs, in the* " *highest moments of irritation : ALL the ebullitions of declaimers, whose infirmities of temper may* " *have led them, in moments of excitement, into*

"extravagance; EVERY THING inflammatory that
 "can be found among insulated speeches, sermons,
 "and gazettes, for a series of years, when the high-
 "est political ferment existed; All THESE are
 "brought together as a regular plan, a continued
 "system of inconsistency, discord, and faction.—
 "This is about as fair as it would be to make ex-
 "tracts from the bills of mortality in Philadelphia,
 "during the most fatal season of the yellow fever,
 "and from those of Boston in a healthy sum-
 "mer, and give them as a true specimen of the sa-
 "lubritiy of the two cities.

"A more malignant design could hardly have been
 "imagined: though a smile is excited by a certain
 "national raciness in the title of this book, which
 "should have been *the torch of Alecto, or perpetual*
 "*rancour and animosity*. A work, indeed, of the
 "kind to which this makes a *hypocritical pretence*,
 "might become a text book of permanent utility,
 "to teach political morality and wisdom to future
 "statesmen; but it must not be *the paltry impulse*
 "*of party, or pecuniary thrift, that should guide the*
 "*author*. Who is there to undertake such a work?
 "Who is there with sufficient sagacity and know-
 "ledge for the task, and at the same time, *suffi-*
 "*cient independence* of his own times?"—*Letters*,
 pp. 28, 29.

Your allegations against the Olive Branch are :

1. That I have selected but "*a few slips on one side*," i. e. the democratic party, which I have "*softened with pathetic regrets*."

2. That I have collected together, "*every thing inflammatory that can be found among* insulated speeches, sermons, and gazettes, for a series of years," to defame and disgrace the other party.

3. That I have been under "the paltry impulse of party, or pecuniary thrift," in writing the Olive Branch.

4. That this work has not gone through so many editions as is stated in the title page.

5. That it makes a hypocritical pretence to impartiality and fairness.

6. That it is a mere compilation.

7. That I did not possess sufficient independence for the task I undertook.

The third, fourth, and seventh items, are not, it is true, distinctly stated ; but they are clearly implied.

I shall consider each item in detail, and hope to prove, to the satisfaction of the public, that the accusations are wholly unjust, and that you either did not read the work in question at all ; or, if you read it, must have forgotten its contents ; or, finally, if you remembered them, that you have wilfully misrepresented them.

On the charge of intentional misrepresentation, however, I am not disposed to insist ; as the fairness, candour, liberal spirit, and enlightened views, generally displayed in your work, appear incompatible with the idea of such dishonest conduct.

The Writer of the Olive Branch.

Philadelphia, Dec. 10, 1820.

NO. II.

YOUR first allegation against the Olive Branch imports, that in stating the errors and guilt of the democratic party, which, you assert, was done out of "*a hypocritical pretence*" of impartiality, I adduced but "*a few slips*;" that even these were extenuated and palliated by "*regrets and apologies*;" and, as a corollary, you give your readers to understand, that I suppressed the great mass, including all that were of a heinous nature.

That this strain of accusation is absolutely expressed, or clearly implied, appears indubitable from a perusal of your own words. "It [the Olive Branch] has selected, with a delicacy and tenderness truly affectionate, *a few slips*"—yes, these are the precise words—" *a few slips* on one side, which are softened with pathetic regrets and apologies." *Letters*, p. 28.

Here, sir, we are fairly at issue.

If the accusation be established, it clearly follows, that I have been guilty of a base literary and political fraud; that my work ought to have been consigned to oblivion; and, moreover, that I deserve the most pointed reprehension of every honest and enlightened member of the community. But on the contrary, if I prove these charges utterly destitute of foundation, it will be equally clear, that you have been guilty of gross calumny, and that you are a false accuser, justly liable to the penalties, which, had I been guilty, I

should have incurred. From these penalties you can be exonerated only by the plea of inadvertence, or mistake of the tenour and contents of the work you undertook to review with such extreme severity. The nature of your offence will thus be changed. Instead of a verdict of deliberate falsehood and malice, you will be brought in guilty of palpable and unpardonable neglect.

I now proceed to state some of the charges I have adduced against the democratic party, and it will soon appear how erroneously they are characterized in point of number and magnitude. It will be seen that the terms "few" and "slips," are wholly unwarranted; as, on the contrary, they are *many* and *grievous*.

I. The Western Insurrection.

"Among the sins of the democratic party, the
" *western insurrection claims a proud pre-eminence.*
" Had it not been met with the energy and deci-
" sion which Gen. Washington displayed on the
" occasion, its obvious tendency was, and the pro-
" bable result would have been, *to destroy the re-*
" *cently-raised fabric of the federal government—*
" the pride of the new—the admiration of the old
" world. The wise and the good of this country,
" and of Europe, regarded the crisis with the deep-
" est awe and solicitude. The prospect was calcu-
" lated to appal persons of no mean degree of for-
" titude. The fate of unborn millions hung for
" a season in suspense and doubt. Heaven smiled

“ propitiously on us ; it interposed for our salva-
 “ tion. Our executive magistrate wisely called
 “ forth an overwhelming force, which frowned
 “ down treason and rebellion.—They shrunk, shud-
 “ dering with terror, into their dens, and called on
 “ the mountains to cover them.

“ *This heinous sin, hideous enough under any*
 “ *possible form, is greatly aggravated by a consider-*
 “ *ation of the subject that led to it. It was the*
 “ *excise on spirituous liquors. Never can the min-*
 “ *isters of taxation appear in a less exceptionable*
 “ *form, than when they derive means of defraying*
 “ *the expenses of government, from limiting the*
 “ *horrible ravages of the destroyer, drunkenness,*
 “ *which, by profound observers, is believed to de-*
 “ *vour more human victims than the sword.*”—
 “ *Olive Branch, 10th ed. p. 453.*

II. Democratic Societies.

“ During the inflammation of the public mind,
 “ excited by the recent French revolution, and
 “ by the art and address of M. Genet, the democra-
 “ tic party, then in a minority, established democra-
 “ tic societies, which, by their affiliations in every
 “ ramification of the United States, were intended
 “ and expected, by co-operation, to overawe the
 “ administration—to dismount their antagonists—
 “ and to enable the leaders to vault into the vacant
 “ saddles. This effect they would indubitably
 “ have produced, but that they were denounced
 “ by Gen. Washington and both houses of Con-

“gress, as having been implicated in encouraging
 “the opposition to the general government, which,
 “finally, led to the western insurrection. This
 “was a mortal stroke to them, and totally enfee-
 “bled them thenceforward.”—*P.* 480.

III. Defence of the atrocities of the French Revolution.

“While the succession of monsters preserved
 “the name of ‘French Republic, one and indivi-
 “sible,’ the democrats clung to the cause most
 “steadfastly. *Faction blinded us to the mass of*
 “*wretchedness that overspread the face of France.*
 “We palliated the noyades, the unprecedented fu-
 “sillades, the slaughters at Lyons and elsewhere.
 “It was a republic in name: that single word was
 “enough to lull us to sleep—to render us blind,
 “and deaf, and dumb to the mountains of misery
 “endured under the pretended republic, which
 “‘exceeded in one year all that France had endured
 “under the Bourbons in twenty.’ We lauded,
 “and toasted, and belauelled the murderous lead-
 “ers, whose deeds spoke more of the hyæna, the
 “panther, or the tiger, than those of the human
 “being. Our attachment remained, when the cause
 “of the rulers of France, (*it was no longer the cause*
 “*of the nation,*) had become ‘*a stench in the nostrils*
 “*of Heaven;*’ and every man who dared to doubt
 “the justice and propriety of the murderous scenes
 “exhibited in France, was denounced as a tory or
 “a monarchist.”—*P.* 465.

IV. *Opposition to a Navy.*

“ *The steady and factious opposition made by the*
 “ *democratic party, to the establishment of a small*
 “ *navy, adequate at least to the protection of our*
 “ *own coast, has by the event been proved most*
 “ *wretched and miserable policy.*—It arose, as well
 “ from a spirit of hostility toward the party in
 “ power, as from a sordid and contemptible spirit
 “ of economy, which has in many instances dis-
 “ graced and dishonoured this party, who have fre-
 “ quently proved themselves, to use a very trite,
 “ but very expressive proverb, ‘ penny wise—
 “ pound foolish.’—When we analyse the boasted
 “ spirit of economy, to which the opposition to a
 “ navy may be in part ascribed, we shall find it
 “ arises from two sources : the one, men of narrow
 “ minds carrying into public the huckstering habits
 “ of private life : the other, *a base spirit of courting*
 “ *popularity, by husbanding the public treasure,*
 “ *even on occasions when liberality is true economy,*
 “ which as frequently occur in public affairs as in
 “ private life.—Both motives are equally contemp-
 “ tible : but the latter is the more pernicious, and
 “ produces the most ruinous consequences : it
 “ starves and smothers public undertakings, and
 “ public spirit ; and often defrauds illustrious men
 “ of their due rewards. *It is the characteristic vice*
 “ *of our times and of our nation ; and ought to be*
 “ *hunted down by every man who has a real regard*
 “ *for the honour and interest of his country.*”

“ I feel confident that the nation has lost five

“hundred times as much, through the want of a small navy, as that navy would have cost. Numbers of instances have occurred, of valuable merchantmen having been captured by petty pickaroons with one or two guns.—Our ports have been insulted and outraged, and the ships and cargoes of our merchants plundered by privateers and sloops of war, which a few armed vessels would have forced to keep at a respectful distance. *There is none of the points on which the two hostile parties have differed, wherein the democrats have been so far below their adversaries in consulting the real, the permanent honour and interests of the country, as the establishment of a naval force.* The policy of the federalists in this respect was dignified and honourable; that of the democrats miserably contracted.”—P. 47, 49.

Now, sir, I call upon you, as a gentlemen, to say whether these two paragraphs, if they stood singly, would not be sufficient to disprove your allegations? Do they support you in the odious charge of “*hypocritical pretences*” to impartiality? Is the conduct here denounced a mere “*slip?*” Is it not a most grievous error? Is it softened by any “*pathetic regrets or apologies?*” Is it not denounced in as strong language as you yourself would have used in the highest paroxysm of party rage and violence? Is not the style of reprobation I have employed incomparably more liable to objection and censure for its caustic severity, than for its undue lenity, or “*softening*” tenour?

*V. Alien and Sedition Laws, and eight per cent.
loans.*

“ *The factious clamour excited against the alien and sedition laws, and against the eight per cent. loan ;—which clamour was the principal means of changing the administration, and taking it from the hands of the federalists, to place it in those of the democrats—may be justly reckoned among the sins of the latter party. A candid review of the so-styled sedition law, at the present hour, when the public ferment, to which it gave rise, has wholly subsided, will satisfy any reasonable man, that so far from being an outrageous infringement of liberty, as was asserted, it was a measure not merely defensible, but absolutely necessary and indispensable to the support of government.*”—*P. 50.*

On this paragraph a few brief observations are necessary. I hope it affords a strong proof of that “*sufficient independence of his own times,*” which you deem an indispensable requisite for a writer who undertakes a review of cotemporaneous parties and politics. On those important laws I differed from the great mass of the democratic party, of whom ninety nine in a hundred reprobated, and still reprobate them. It is wholly unimportant, as to the case between us, whether I was right or wrong. The only question is, whether I had “*sufficient independence*” to denounce the party to which I adhered, when I conscientiously believed their conduct unjust. I

trust that the answer must be in the affirmative, and that it utterly disproves your allegations.

“The eight per cent. loan remains. It was united with, and increased the clamour against, the alien and sedition laws; and these unpopular measures, as I have already observed, precipitated the federalists from power; yet we have since found that their successors, the democrats, have themselves given about eight per cent. on some of their loans.”—*P. 52.*

VI. Opposition to Jay's Treaty.

“The violent opposition to this instrument, which pervaded the union, and greatly disturbed the administration of General Washington, was a highly factious procedure on the part of the democrats, who were led away by objections, plausible but unsubstantial—hardly any of which have been realized.”—*P. 52.*

VII. Rejection of Monroe and Pinkney's Treaty.

“Two ministers, appointed by Mr. Jefferson, had negotiated a treaty with England, the best they could obtain.—It had been transmitted to him in due form. Without consulting the Senate, the co-ordinate branch of the treaty-making power, he, on his own responsibility, rejected it, and transmitted it to these ministers to begin their negotiations anew. This was a mighty and fatal error. It may be doubted whether it were not a violation, at least of the spirit of the consti-

"*tution*. It was, at all events, a case that probably did not enter into the conceptions of the framers of that instrument. If it had, it is likely they would have provided against its occurrence.

"A calm reflection on this subject can hardly fail to convince the reader, that *to this source may probably be traced nearly all our late difficulties*. Had this treaty been submitted to the Senate, they would, in all likelihood, have ratified the chief parts of it; and, as had been the case with Jay's treaty, referred the obnoxious clauses to a new discussion. Our disputes with England would thus have been compromised; and our party divisions could never have been excited to such a height as to endanger the peace and security of the country."—*P. 53.*

"The rejection was treating Mr. Jefferson's own ministers very cavalierly, to use no stronger language. But this was by no means the most exceptionable feature of the transaction. It was treating with slight, perhaps I might add, with contempt, the government of a mighty nation, entitled, from its high rank among the European powers, to respect and attention. *But the worst feature remains. It indubitably quadrupled the chances of war, which ought to be studiously avoided by every fair and honourable means; of which the issue is at all times precarious; and pre-eminently so, between two nations so unequally matched in point of resources as the United States and England.*"—*P. 469.*

I might descant at large on the "*independence*" requisite to animadvert so severely on the conduct of Mr. Jefferson, predicated on the respect and veneration entertained for him by the democratic party. But I waive the task as wholly unnecessary.

VIII. Non renewal of the Charter of the Bank of the United States.

"Among the great sins of the democratic party during Mr. Madison's administration, must be numbered the non-renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States. This circumstance injuriously affected the character and credit of this country abroad—produced a great degree of stagnation, distress, and difficulty at home—and was among the causes of the late embarrassments and difficulties of the pecuniary concerns of the country. Had this Bank been in existence, its capital might readily at any time have been increased by Congress, 10, 20, or 30, millions, so as to aid the government most effectually, and support the national credit."—*P. 58.*

On this subject, too, as well as the alien and sedition laws, I was almost universally condemned by the great body of the democratic party, who regarded the institution as unconstitutional. It is, as in the former case, foreign to my present purpose, to discuss the question, on which side lay the correct opinion. The only point worth notice here is the "*independence*" these strictures display.

IX. Rejection of the Armistice proposed by Admiral Warren.

“ Whatever might have been the justice, necessity, or policy of the war, it was a great error, when the orders in Council were repealed, and an armistice offered by the British government, not to accept it.—Negotiations for the removal of the rest of our grievances might have taken place, and would undoubtedly have been conducted under more favourable auspices than those that preceded them ; for England having discovered that she had calculated too far on our passiveness, would have been far more disposed to do us justice.”—*P. 60.*

X. Appointment of Mr. Gallatin as Ambassador to treat with England.

“ The appointment of Mr. Gallatin, as minister to treat with the court of St. James’s, was a very considerable error. This gentleman has had the reputation, probably with justice, of being one of the ablest financiers in this country. For twelve years he had presided over the financial concerns of the nation ; during which period, moderate talents were adequate to the duties of that station. But a crisis had arrived when the abilities of a Colbert, or a Sully, or a Ximenes, might be necessary ; and most injudiciously and indefensibly he was then dispatched to another hemisphere ; and his duties devolved, *ad interim*, on another officer, whose proper official duties require all his time and all his talents.

“ This measure was highly preposterous. It was
 “ incorrect in the president to confer, it was equal-
 “ ly incorrect in the secretary to receive, the ap-
 “ pointment. It was the less defensible, from the
 “ circumstance that nearly all the democrats in
 “ the United States, had, in 1794, utterly disap-
 “ proved of, and declaimed against, the appoint-
 “ ment, by General Washington, of Judge Jay to
 “ negotiate a treaty with Great-Britain, pending
 “ his continuance as a Judge. It is moreover ob-
 “ vious that the absence of one Judge cannot pro-
 “ duce any material inconvenience ; as there are
 “ always others to supply his place. But there
 “ are high and responsible duties attached to the
 “ office of Secretary of the Treasury, which can
 “ never, without very great impropriety, be de-
 “ volved on a deputy.”—*P.* 63.

XI. Negotiation at Gottenburgh.

“ At a period when it was of immense impor-
 “ tance to the United States to close the war as
 “ speedily as possible, the President had the alter-
 “ native of London or Gottenburgh as the scene
 “ of negotiation. We had been unfortunate by
 “ land through treason, incapacity, or some other
 “ cause. It was our interest to accelerate—it was
 “ that of the British to procrastinate the negocia-
 “ tions. The chances from delay were much in
 “ their favour. War is moreover a component
 “ part of their system : ours is calculated for peace.
 “ These observations acquired treble force from a
 “ reflection on the disaffection of the eastern por-
 “ tion of the union, and its aversion to the war ;

“ of course, we ought to have shunned whatever
 “ might produce delay. It was therefore most
 “ extraordinary and unaccountable that the Presi-
 “ dent should have chosen Gottenburgh in prefer-
 “ ence to London, under all the obvious delays
 “ resulting from the necessity that would probably
 “ arise, or be pretended, to consult the court of
 “ St. James’s by the ministers of that court. *It*
 “ *appears almost as absurd as it would be to choose*
 “ *the Havanna, or Port Royal, were the negocia-*
 “ *tions to be conducted on this side of the Atlantic.*”
 “ P. 64.

XII. Capture of Washington.

“ It is not for me to decide on whom the cen-
 “ sure ought to fall—on the President—the Secre-
 “ tary at War—on the district-general Winder—
 “ or on the whole together. But let that point be
 “ determined as it may, it cannot be denied, that
 “ *nothing but the most culpable neglect could have*
 “ *led to the results that took place—results which*
 “ could not fail to prove injurious to the national
 “ character in Europe, and which, had not the
 “ news of the exploits of the brave and illustrious
 “ Macdonough and Macomb arrived there cotem-
 “ poraneously with the account of this disgraceful
 “ disaster, would have materially and perniciously
 “ affected the negotiation at Ghent.”—P. 73.

XIII. Dependence on loans for support of the war at the commencement.

“ *Perhaps the most grievous and unpardonable*
 “ *error of the democratic party,—an error pregnant*

"with baneful consequences to the finances and credit of the country,—was their depending on loans, for the support of the war, and deferring the imposition of taxes adequate to erect the superstructure of public credit upon. *This arose from the miserable, the despicable, the pernicious dread of forfeiting popularity, and losing the reins of government—a dread often the parent of the most destructive measures. The consequence of this highly reprehensible error was, that the loans were made to very considerable loss, and the public credit of the nation most lamentably impaired.*"—P. 80.

XIV. *Neglect of due preparations for the defence of the country, after the downfall of Bonaparte.*

"During all this deceitful calm, through which every man of discernment might readily and unerringly foresee the approaches of a fearful storm, as every indication from England, deserving of credit, portended a long, a desperate, and a vindictive warfare—the government of the United States took no measures to dispel the delusion. In vain the public looked to Washington for information on the prospect of affairs. All was there profoundly silent. Administration must have had all the information on the subject that was in this country; and it was their incumbent duty to have disseminated abroad the result of their intelligence, that the public might regulate their proceedings, and predicate their measures on rational and prudential calculations. *But*

"*this imperious duty was, I venture to assert, utterly neglected. There was not a line of official communication on the subject. And nothing appeared in the National Intelligencer which strongly marked either a probability of peace, or a continuance of the war. As far, however, as conclusions could be drawn from this semi-official paper, they warranted much more the hope of a restoration of peace, than fear of the contrary. This conduct on the part of the administration was, to the last degree, culpable. It was a dereliction of duty that exposed our citizens to ruinous consequences.*"—P. 66.

I might have extended this list to double the number of items; but, to avoid prolixity, I here close it, believing that, however reluctantly, you must acknowledge I have not confined myself to a "*few slips.*" I now make a solemn pause. You have arraigned me at the bar of the public, as having fraudulently suppressed the errors of the democratic party, except "*a few slips,*" adduced, I repeat, from "*a hypocritical pretence*" of impartiality; and of publishing a work under the spurious title of "*the Olive Branch,*" which ought to be styled "*the Torch of Alecto*"—than which, you say, "*a more malignant design could hardly have been imagined.*" At the same bar you stand arraigned as a calumniator—a false accuser. I await the result with perfect confidence of a favourable verdict for

The Author of the Olive Branch.

Philadelphia, Dec. 15, 1820.

P. S. I trust I shall not be justly chargeable with vanity for asking you a few simple questions—questions provoked by your unjust attack. Do you believe there ever was a political work, written by a professed party man, which so fully denounced the follies, the errors, and the guilt of the party of the author? Are not all works of this description almost universally employed to extenuate, or deny, the errors of one side, and to magnify those of the other? And is there not some merit in striking out a course of conduct almost, or altogether, without precedent?

NO. III.

I **FONDLY** hope that every man of candour who has read the preceding number, will admit that the accusation of my having been guilty of gross partiality, and having confined my animadversions on the errors and guilt of the democratic party, to "*a few slips*," is to the last degree unjust, and destitute of the shadow of foundation. I trust, I shall have equal success with the next "*count*" of your indictment, which, in your own proper words, is, that I have collected together, in one hideous mass—

"The strongest passages in remonstrances
 "against particular measures; *all the violences of*
 "*newspaper paragraphs* in the highest moments
 "of irritation; *all the ebullitions of declaimers,*
 "whose infirmities may have led them, in mo-
 "ments of excitement, into extravagance; *every*
 "*thing inflammatory that can be found among insu-*
 "*lated speeches, sermons, and gazettes,* for a series
 "of years, when the highest political ferment ex-
 "isted; *all these* are brought together as a regu-
 "lar plan, a continued system of inconsistency,
 "discord, and faction."

It is a matter of astonishment how a gentleman possessed of character, and having any regard to his character, could have ever committed himself by such an extravagant declaration, not only without

proof, but utterly incapable of proof, as I hope to make appear as clear as the noonday sun.

The whole amount of the extracts which I have given from "*the violences of newspaper paragraphs*," the "*ebullitions of declaimers*"—from "*inflammatory*" "*speeches, sermons, and gazettes, for a series of years*," does not exceed *thirty-three pages*, at a most liberal allowance. These pages would at the utmost fill about *sixteen columns of one of our large newspapers*. And yet, sir, you come forward in the face of the nation, and assert, without any qualification or reservation, that I have extracted "*every thing inflammatory* that can be found among insulated speeches, sermons, and gazettes, for a series of years!" Into what a tissue of errors does party passion guide its votaries!

Twenty volumes, each as large as the Olive Branch, would be inadequate to contain "*all the violences of newspaper paragraphs*" which appeared from 1805 till 1814, against the measures of the administration. I could name a single writer, (but I do not choose to hurt his feelings,) who published of that description five times as much in one year, as the whole I have selected—and I could also point out particular gazettes, published in your town, which contained as much within one month. Further: I have now in my possession inflammatory sermons preached to large and respectable congregations, and published at their particular request, of which a single one contains a third part as much of the "*violence*" and "*ebullitions of declaimers*" as I have collected together in the book which you have so freely and unqualifiedly devoted to reprobation. On the point

of "*ALL the violence*" I shall say no more. I trust the question is put to rest for ever.

The charges alleged in the Olive Branch against the leaders of the federalists are not so numerous as those against the democrats. There are three prominent ones, which, alone, I shall notice here, passing over the others, as I have done so many of those against their adversaries.

The first is, that they urged the government in 1805 and 1806, to pursue such measures as might be necessary and proper to oblige Great Britain to cease her depredations on the commerce of the United States, with a solemn pledge of support, whatever might be the event.

The second, that they approved in the most unqualified manner, of the Erskine arrangement, before it was rejected by Great Britain—and that after its rejection, they most violently censured the government for entering into it.

And the third, and most grievous, that the tendency of a large portion of their proceedings—their newspaper essays—their resolves—and of no small number of their political sermons, was to dissolve the Union.

The question at issue between you and me is, are those charges well founded? If not, then have I been a gross libeller, and richly deserve the caustic severity you have bestowed on my work, which, in that case would deserve the appellation of a "*Torch of Alecto*," by which you have designated it. If, on the contrary, the case is made out, then the censure recoils on yourself as a false accuser. I shall attempt the proof of my allegations, and be very brief in my citations.

Extract from the Memorial of the New York Merchants, dated Dec. 28, 1805.

“Your memorialists conclude with remarking
 “that they deem the present situation of public
 “affairs to be peculiarly critical and perilous—
 “and such as requires all the prudence, the wis-
 “dom, and the energy of the government, *sup-*
 “*ported by the co-operation of all good citizens.*
 “By mutual exertions, under the benign influ-
 “ence of Providence upon this hitherto favoured
 “nation, we hope the clouds which threaten to ob-
 “scure its prosperity may be dispelled. And we
 “pledge our united support in favour of all the
 “measures adopted to vindicate and secure the just
 “rights of our country.”

Extract from the Memorial of the Philadelphia Merchants, December, 1805.

“In the principles they have here submitted to
 “your consideration, they feel all the confidence
 “of justice and the tenacity of truth. To surren-
 “der them, they conceive would derogate from
 “the national character and independence of the
 “United States. From the justice of govern-
 “ment, they hope for their avowal—*from the spi-*
 “*rit of government, they hope for their defence—*
 “and from the blessing of Heaven they hope for
 “their establishment.

“To preserve peace with all nations, is admit-
 “ted, without reserve, to be both the interest and

“policy of the United States. They therefore
“presume to suggest, that every measure, not in-
“consistent with the honour of the nation, by
“which the great objects of redress and security
“may be obtained, should first be tried. *If such
“measures prove ineffectual, whatever may be the
“sacrifice on their part, it will be met with submis-
“sion.”*

*Extract from the Memorial of the Boston Merchants,
February 20, 1806.*

“In all events, fully relying that the subject of
“our differences with Great Britain will receive
“the due consideration of government; and that
“such measures will in consequence be promptly
“adopted, as will tend to *disembarrass our commerce
“—assert our rights—and support the dignity of
“the United States*, your memorialists have the
“honour to remain,” &c.

*Extract from the Memorial of the Merchants of New-
haven, Feb. 7, 1806.*

“With these impressions of the necessity of
“measures for defending our commercial rights,
“which shall be firm, but temperate—and bold,
“yet marked with a spirit of conciliation, your
“memorialists cordially unite with their fellow
“citizens of other commercial towns, in expressing
“their sentiments freely to the legislative and ex-
“ecutive authorities of their country, with *assur-
“ances of their disposition to give aid and support*

"to every measure of government calculated to accomplish this important object."

Extract from the Memorial of the Merchants of Newburyport, Dec. 1805.

"Having sustained these losses and injuries in the prosecution of our lawful commerce, and in the exercise of our just rights, we rely with confidence on the wisdom, firmness, and justice of our government, to obtain for us that compensation, and to grant us that protection, which a regard for the honour of our country, no less than the rights of our citizens, must dictate and require."

Extract from the Memorial of the Salem Merchants, January 20, 1806.

"Your memorialists wish to take no part in the contests which now convulse the world; but, acting with impartiality towards all nations, to reap the fruits of a just neutrality. If, however, conciliation cannot effect the purposes of justice, and an appeal to arms be the last and necessary protection of honour, they feel no disposition to decline the common danger, or shrink from the common contribution."

"Relying on the wisdom and firmness of the general government in this behalf, they feel no hesitation to pledge their lives and properties in support of the measures which may be adopted to vindicate the public rights and redress the public wrongs."

The pacific measures adopted by the American government to "vindicate the public rights, and redress the public wrongs," were, restrictions of the lucrative trade which the aggressors carried on with us—embargo—and non intercourse.

It is not necessary for me to state how far the "*pledge of lives and properties*" was redeemed by the support of all or any of those measures. I draw a veil over the subject.

The next accusation against the ultra leaders of the federal party was the warm and unequivocal approbation they bestowed on the Erskine arrangement previous to its rejection by the British government, and the equally unequivocal reprobation of it and the administration afterwards.

Before the rejection.

"We owe it to Mr. Madison and his cabinet, to say, and we do it with pride and pleasure, that they have come forward with a degree of promptitude and manliness, which reflects much honour on them and the country. *Mr. Madison has now done what Mr. Jefferson was requested to do in the note appended to the treaty returned by him.* Mr. Madison is now effectually resisting the French decrees by a total non intercourse with that country: and this country will thank him for it to the latest generation."—United States Gazette, April 24, 1809.

"The candour, liberality, and sincerity displayed in those documents, are alike honourable to the two governments."—Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, April 22, 1809.

Extract from the Speech of the Governor of Massachusetts to the Legislature of that State.

"We have good reason to indulge the hope
 "of realizing these views, [arising from a revival
 "of commerce] from the prompt and amicable
 "disposition with which it is understood the pre-
 "sent federal administration met the conciliatory
 "overtures of Great Britain—a *disposition which*
 "*is entitled to, and will certainly receive, the hearty*
 "*approbation of every one who sincerely loves the*
 "*peace and prosperity of the nation.*"

"Well may the merchants of Alexandria rejoice
 "at Mr. Madison's return to the good old prin-
 "ciples of federalism. Let the crazy professors
 "of Jeffersonism give themselves up to weeping,
 "and wailing, and all the afflicting stings of jeal-
 "ousy and mortification. The federalists will pay
 "homage to Mr. Madison, while he continues to
 "pursue the course he has taken."—Federal Re-
 publican.

"Scarcely was Mr. Madison seated in the chair
 "of state, when, contrary to all our expectations,
 "but agreeably to our wishes, he gave the lie to
 "all his electioneering advocates; abandoned prac-
 "tically and in the face of the world, the policy and
 "course of the sage; and concluded with Mr. Er-
 "skine an agreement, which, *knocking off the igno-*
 "*minious hand-cuffs from our hands, unmooring*
 "*our ships, rejoicing our hearts, and elevating our*
 "*hopes, drew from the union, (the jacobins except-*
 "*ed,) an unfeigned burst of heart cheering applause.*"

" *Never statesman did an act more popular or more
" conducive to the true and permanent interest of
" his Country.*"—Philadelphia Gazette, June 20,
1809.

" Look at the files of this paper for a twelve
" month. You will find it insisted upon, that
" *Great Britain wished for an adjustment of dif-
" ferences, and would come to an accommodation
" the moment we gave her a chance to do so.* Mr.
" Erskine very promptly begins by stating, on
" our government's placing England on a footing
" with France, England will make reparation—
" just precisely what I have said a hundred times
" over in this paper, she would gladly do."—New
York Evening Post, April 26, 1809.

Per Contra—after the rejection.

" For our part we have had but one opinion
" from the commencement of this mysterious af-
" fair; and we have made bold to express it. It
" is, that *Mr. Erskine acted contrary to his in-
" structions, and that Mr. Secretary Smith knew
" what these instructions were.*"—United States
Gazette, Oct. 18, 1809.

" *In short, Mr. Erskine surrendered every thing,
" and got nothing in return.*—Ibid.

" The people have been flagrantly deceived, and
" grossly abused. *The matter rests between Mr.
" Erskine and our administration.* Wherever the
" blame shall fall, it is for the people to apply or

“originate a remedy.”—Federal Republican, July 31, 1809.

“What was a few days ago but a doubtful point, is now settled by the publication of Mr. Erskine’s instructions. Sufficient information has been received, to convince all candid persons, that the rancour with which the English cabinet has been pursued, was undeserved. We do not entertain a doubt, when all the circumstances shall have been disclosed, that it will appear that Secretary Smith actually saw Erskine’s Instructions; and that the arrangement was made, merely as an experiment. We feel confident that the thing will be put upon this footing. If then the United States will be ultimately injured by the act, they will judge where the blame lies.”—Federal Republican, July 27, 1809.

“By letters from well-informed men in England, we are assured that the conduct of Mr. Erskine is condemned by all parties in that country; that the temper of the public is far beyond that of the ministry. A very general opinion prevails there, that it will be very difficult to keep any terms with this country; that we are governed by men devoted to the interests of France, who are determined to insist on terms from England which can never be obtained.”—Boston Palladium, August 11, 1809.

It would be a work of supererogation, to add any thing further to prove this point.

The third grand item of accusation, is, that the tendency of the writings and proceedings of the ultra leaders of the federal party was to dissolve the Union. I say distinctly "*the tendency*." Of their views or intentions I pretend not to judge.

To the belief of this tendency, whether right or wrong, the publication of the Olive Branch was wholly owing. Nothing but the apprehension of such a result could have led me to the undertaking. How far this apprehension was just, I leave the world to decide.

"As Mr. Madison has declared war, let Mr. Madison carry it on."—Discourse of the Rev. J. S. J. Gardiner, rector of Trinity Church, Boston, delivered July 23, 1812, page 17.

"The union has been long since virtually dissolved; and it is full time that this part of the dis-united States should take care of itself."—Idem, page 19.

"One hope only remains, that this last stroke of perfidy may open the eyes of the besotted people; that they may awake like a giant from his slumbers, and *wreak their vengeance on their betrayers*, by driving them from their stations, and placing at the helm more skilful and faithful hands."—Discourse delivered by the Rev. David Osgood, D. D. pastor of the church at Medford, June 27, 1812, page 17.

"If at the present moment, no symptoms of civil war appear, they certainly will soon; unless the courage of the war party should fail them."—Idem, page 14.

"A civil war becomes as certain as the events that happen according to the known laws and established course of nature."—Idem, page 15.

"The Israelites were weary of yielding the fruits of their labour to pamper their tyrants. They left their political woes. They separated. Where is our Moses? Where is the rod of his miracles? Where is our Aaron? Alas! no voice from the burning bush has directed them here."—Discourse delivered by the Rev. Elisha Parish, D. D. at Byfield, April 7, 1814, page 18.

"Alas! we have no Moses to stretch his rod over the sea! No Lebanon, nor Carmel, nor Zion invites us across the deep!"—Idem, page 14.

"Has not New England as much to apprehend as the sons of Jacob had? But no child has been taken from the river to lead us through the sea!"—Idem, page 20.

"God will bring good from every evil. The furnaces of Egypt lighted Israel to the land of Canaan."—Idem, page 22.

"Let every man who sanctions this war by his suffrage or his influence, remember, that he is labouring to cover himself and his country with

"blood. *The blood of the slain will cry from the ground against him.*"—Idem, page 28.

"How will the supporters of this anti-christian warfare endure their sentence; endure their own reflections; *endure the fire that for ever burns; the worm which never dies; the hosannahs of Heaven; while the smoke of their torments ascends for ever and ever?*"—Idem, page 24.

"*Either the southern states must drag us further into the war—or we must drag them out of it—or the chain will break.*"—Boston Centinel, Jan. 13, 1813.

"*The Union is dissolved practically.*"—Idem, Sept. 10, 1814.

"*Throwing off all connexion with this wasteful war—making peace with the enemy—and opening once more our commerce, would be a wise and manly course.*"—Idem, Dec. 17, 1814.

"*The once venerable constitution has expired by dissolution in the hands of those wicked men who were sworn to protect it. Its spirit, with the precious souls of its first founders, has fled for ever. Its remains, with theirs, rest in the silent tomb. At your hands therefore we demand deliverance. New England is unanimous. And we announce our irrevocable decree, that the tyrannical oppression of those who at present usurp the powers of the constitution, is beyond endurance. And we will resist it.*"—Address to the Hartford Convention, Bost. Cent. Dec. 28, 1814.

Extract from a Memorial of the citizens of Newburyport, January 31, 1814, addressed to the Legislature of Massachusetts.

"We remember the resistance of our fathers to oppressions which dwindle into insignificance, when compared with those we are called upon to endure. The rights which we have received from God, we will never yield to man. We call upon our state legislature to protect us in the enjoyment of those privileges, to assert which our fathers died; and to defend which we profess ourselves ready to resist unto blood. We pray your honourable body to adopt measures immediately to secure to us, especially, our undoubted right to trade within our own state.

"We are ourselves ready to aid you in securing it to us, to the utmost of our power, *"peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must."* And we pledge to you the sacrifice of our lives and property in support of whatever measures the dignity and liberties of this free, sovereign, and independent state may seem to your wisdom to demand."

Extract from a memorial of the Citizens of Hadley to the legislature of Massachusetts.

"Resolved, that in our opinion, a perseverance in that deadly hostility to commerce, which, we believe, derives its origin and its vigour from a deep-rooted jealousy of the eastern states, will inevitably tend to a dissolution of the union. And though we most sincerely deprecate such an

“event, yet we cannot suppress our fears, that
“the time is at hand, when a *separation of these*
“*states will be enforced by the most irresistible of*
“*all motives—self preservation.*”

I regret being driven by the libel you have published against me and my book, to bring forward these topics, which were better consigned to oblivion. The extreme violence of your attacks, and the imperious duty of self-defence, will, I doubt not, sufficiently plead my apology with every man possessed of common candour.

The remainder of your accusations shall be examined and refuted in the next address of

The Writer of the Olive Branch.

Philadelphia, Dec. 16, 1820.

NO. IV.

SIR,

Your next allegation, offered, it is true, merely by implication, is that I wrote under "*the paltry impulse of party or pecuniary thrift.*"

On the subject of "the paltry impulse of party," I presume No. 2. contains abundant refutation.—No man, under that impulse, would have dared to use the strong language of condemnation, which is there exhibited against his own party. To these proofs I shall make no addition, presuming that those who pretend they are insufficient, would not give credence, "though one were to rise from the dead."

The idea intended to be conveyed by the words "*the paltry impulse of pecuniary thrift,*" is, I presume, that the hope of making money, was among the motives for writing the Olive Branch. Were this true, the procedure would not have been in any wise criminal. Few men who write in this or any other country, scruple to sell their works; and if there be any chance of their having such a circulation as is likely to render them profitable, they will find purchasers.

But the charge is, like the others, wholly false, and destitute of the shadow of foundation. I wrote the Olive Branch without the most distant idea of profit—indeed with every prospect of loss; as very few, indeed scarcely any, political publications in this

country have ever indemnified the publishers for their expenses. The success of the O. B. was almost unprecedented, and went far beyond all rational calculation.

On the subject of "*pecuniary thrift*," I have to offer a few strong facts; and facts are "stubborn things," not to be disproved by mere insinuations or assertions, however boldly hazarded.

The Olive Branch, at an early period, had become profitable. It was then no longer a mere experiment, as it was in general demand in every part of the union. It was admitted by candid men of both parties, that its circulation was happily allaying the violent spirit of party, which menaced the nation with the most awful consequences. Then was the time, if I had been actuated by the "*paltry impulse of pecuniary thrift*," to have completely gratified that spirit. I could, without the least impropriety, have monopolized the supply of the whole country in my own hands. Perhaps I might without vanity assert, that few men would have done otherwise. Your unfair and uncandid insinuation would justify me in the declaration. But what was the fact? In order to increase the beneficial results, which I had reason to expect from its circulation, I offered the privilege of re-printing it gratis to booksellers in Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Boston, Newhaven, Middlebury, Richmond, Winchester, Raleigh, and Charleston. The offer was accepted in only three places; in Boston, by Andrew Dunlap, and Rowe and Hooper; in Middlebury, by William Slade; and in Winchester, by J. Foster. The three editions amounted to about 4500 copies, for which I never asked, expect-

ed, nor received a single cent. I think the annals of politics and literature, afford few parallel cases. Men in England, France, and Germany, incomparably more wealthy and independent than I was, have, in nine cases out of ten, sold their writings, even when their fate was wholly uncertain. Whereas, at the time when I tendered the gratuitous permission to publish the Olive Branch, in so many different parts of the union, it had passed the ordeal of public criticism; and the success of those who might publish it was absolutely certain.

I annex an irrefutable document on this point. Similar ones could be had from Messrs. Slade and Foster, were it deemed necessary.

"Know all men by these presents, that Andrew Dunlap, and Rowe and Hooper, of the town of Boston, by permission of Mathew Carey of Philadelphia, printed in the year 1815, the third edition of the Olive Branch, *consisting of fifteen hundred copies*;* and that the author gave the privilege of printing it gratuitously—never having required or received to the amount of a single dollar for the copy right; the only condition annexed to the permission was, that *the publishers should bestow ten per cent. of the edition to public libraries, and to persons unable to purchase copies of the work.*"

THOMAS ROWE,
of the late firm of Rowe and Hooper.

Boston, Jan. 4, 1821.

* I formerly believed, and stated, that this edition was only 1250 copies. I find I was in error, as appears by the above testimony.

The next point I shall notice is contained in these words—"an octavo volume, *compiled* by an Irish Bookseller in Philadelphia, has, if the title may be believed, gone through *a dozen editions*." Here is an error deserving of animadversion, merely as it affords a proof of the very loose and careless nature of your assertions, and how little concern you take to make them square with the truth. There is no copy of the work professing to be the *twelfth* edition. Its extent was only *ten* editions; of which seven were published in thirteen months—the first on the 8th of Nov. 1814, and the seventh, Dec. 15, 1815. The tenth appeared in June, 1818.

There are various modes of defamation and calumny. It is sometimes explicitly and unqualifiedly promulgated—at others it is indirectly hinted. The words—"If the title page may be believed"—are intended to convey the idea that "*the title page*" carries the lie stamped on its forehead; and that the number of editions was not so great as has been asserted.

Independent of a reply to *your* unfounded accusation, I have an additional reason for noticing this sentence. In order to destroy the influence of the Olive Branch, and to bring discredit on its author, when it was in the highest demand, a violent party newsprinter in New York, fabricated a pretty story, to which his paper gave extensive currency. He pretended that I had a variety of title pages, purporting to belong to several editions of the work, but in reality prefixed to one and the same edition.

The story was humorously told, and by way of illustration, the editor introduced another, of a de-

cayed gentleman, who, having, but two shirts, had them marked No. 19 and 20, in order to impress his friends with an opinion that his stock of linen was immensely great. On the disingenuousness of this conduct, I make no comment. On such a point, among honourable men, there can be but one opinion.

“Happening to step into a bookseller’s store this morning, the sight of an octavo volume, handsomely bound in morocco, caught my eye, *the seventh edition, if I remember right*. This book sells well, said I. It has reached more editions in a short period from its first appearance, than almost any other book in this country ever did—a fact of which I found myself solemnly assured in the preface.—*This Carey, says the bookseller, is a queer fellow, or mad*. He sent to us here a parcel of this book, marked the sixth edition, I think; and directly on the back of it, *before we had sold a single copy*, he wrote and said, that the demand was so great and pressing, that we must return all on hand by the mail stage; and immediately after sent us *another parcel marked the seventh*. I do not know what to make of him.—Carey has long been an author by profession; and *he understands the tricks of the trade*. He knows that nothing helps off a book so much as the appearance of numerous editions; and therefore I believe he *keeps a set of title pages to prefix at pleasure; just as the owner of two solitary shirts, numbers them 19 and 20*.”—New-York Evening Post.

The story was too good, and flattered too many party prejudices, to die very soon. Accordingly it was extensively circulated, with strong asseverations of its truth; and it was, as is usual, believed by those who wished it true. About a year since, a southern poet embodied it into the preface of one of his works, and, availing himself of the *licentia poetica*, adorned the tale with some further embellishments.

“I have waited in almost feverish anxiety for
 “a decent excuse to publish a second edition:—
 “by a second, I do not mean such second editions
 “as we sometimes see, struck off simultaneously
 “with the first—corresponding with it in every
 “particular, (*even to the table of errata*)—but I
 “mean a second edition—revised—corrected—
 “and following the first.

“There is a ridiculous story on this subject
 “which I must tell—not out of malice to any hu-
 “man being—but *because I have some reason to*
 “*believe it!* One of our greatest booksellers, and,
 “by the by, no ordinary writer, having published
 “a book, which—some how or other—*reached the*
 “*tenth or twentieth edition*—in his first consignment
 “sent the *fourth* edition. The books were scarce-
 “ly housed, when *the first edition* arrived. The
 “wrong bundle, it appears, was shipped first.”
Battle of Niagara, by John Neal, preface, second
edition, pp. 7 and 8.

I wrote to Mr. Neal on the subject of this flagrant falsehood—but he had not the candour to make any apology, nor even to acknowledge the receipt of my letter.

It may, perhaps, appear that this affair is too unimportant to deserve serious notice. This is an error. The story, divested of its drollery, forms an accusation, that I was guilty of a gross literary fraud, disgraceful and dishonourable in a high degree—a fraud which I regard with the utmost scorn. And surely it can never be improper or unnecessary to repel slander or calumny.

The editions of the Olive Branch are fortunately so entirely different from each other, that a very cursory glance is sufficient to establish the utter destitution of truth in the insinuation. There has probably no instance ever before occurred, of such a strong and striking difference between the various editions of the same work, as exists in this case. This difference has arisen from my having made very large additions to, and alterations in, every successive edition, as new light broke in on me. In proof of this fact, it is sufficient to state, that the first contained only 252 pages *duodecimo*, of *large*, and the tenth 506 pages, *octavo*, of *small*, print.

The following statement, signed by four respectable gentlemen, will fully establish the falsehood of the whole of these Munchausen stories.

“The subscribers have examined *ten copies* of
“the Olive Branch, submitted to them by the au-
“thor, and hereby certify, that there is such a
“total difference in the arrangement of the matter,
“the size of the pages and types, and more par-
“ticularly in the number of pages contained in
“them, as to convince the most superficial obser-

“ver that they were bona fide different editions.

JAMES ABERCROMBIE, D. D.
THOMAS DOBSON,
W. W. WOODWARD,
ABRAHAM SMALL.

Philadelphia, Jan. 2, 1821.

In order to disparage the work, you hold out the idea of its being a mere “*compilation*,” of which the leading feature is “the dulness of a parcel of extracts from old newspapers.”

This insinuation is equally correct and candid with the residue of your criticisms. The work is by no means a *compilation*. It is a review, although a very desultory one, of the most important affairs of the country for a number of years, and down to the close of the late war. It contains, it is true, very copious extracts from public documents and newspapers, new and old—but a very large proportion of it is entirely new.

This course was dictated by the nature of the case, and by imperious necessity. I trod on delicate and dangerous ground. The work was in direct hostility with the feelings, the prejudices, and in some measure with the interests, of numerous and respectable portions of the parties, then so violently inflamed against each other. It was therefore liable to the most rigorous scrutiny. The greatest circumspection was, of course, necessary. My mere *ipse dixi*, would have been of little avail. It became incumbent on me to shut the door in the face of cavilling and disputation. I pursued the only plan calculated to produce this effect. Almost every important fact stated, or opinion advanced, is support-

ed not merely by reference to authorities, but by quotations from the authorities themselves. This plan is carried to an extent probably unparalleled, and which nothing could justify, but the peculiar circumstances of the case.

The last insinuation which I shall notice is, that I was destitute of the "independence" necessary for such a delicate office as I undertook.

To disprove this fully, in addition to the evidence I have already given in pp. 15 to 28, I subjoin a few extracts from the work, which, I trust, will finally settle the question.

" *This conduct on the part of the administration was to the last degree culpable. It was a dereliction of duty that exposed our citizens to ruinous consequences.*"—*Olive Branch*, 10th edition, p. 66.

Whether I shall escape censure for the excessive severity of the following strictures on the conduct of the thirteenth congress, is wholly uncertain. But, surely, even you, sir, will acknowledge that they are as full a proof of that "*independence*" which you regard as an indispensable requisite for a writer, who decsants on passing events, as could well be offered: nothing could justify or even palliate this style of writing but the extreme excitement created by the desperate state of our affairs.

" In the present tranquillized state of the public mind, when the fears and solitudes excited by the late alarming state of affairs have subsided, it will be difficult for the reader to justify, or even to account for, the warmth which many

“parts of this work display. It is therefore but
“justice to myself, to give a rapid sketch of the
“scenes through which we have passed, in order
“to account for the excitement of my mind, so
“obvious to every reader in the perusal of some
“of my chapters.

“The government had been nearly reduced to
“bankruptcy. It had been unable to raise money
“to discharge the most imperious engagements.
“There was no general circulating medium in the
“country. The banks, from New-York to New-
“Orleans, inclusively, had, with perhaps one or
“two exceptions, suspended the payment of specie.
“The bank notes of Philadelphia and New-York
“were depreciated in Boston from 15 to 25 per
“cent. below par. And every feature in our po-
“litical affairs wore an equally awful aspect.
“Whether the causes I have assigned really pro-
“duced this state of things or not, is immaterial.
“Be the cause what it may, the fact existed.
“Want of money had partially suspended the re-
“cruiting service. And the pacification of Europe
“had quadrupled the disposable force of our en-
“emy, and in the same degree increased our dan-
“ger and the necessity for energy and vigilance.

“Under these circumstances, congress was con-
“vened on the 19th of September, nearly two
“months earlier than the period fixed by law, in
“order to make provision for such an extraordi-
“nary emergency. The state of the nation was
“fully detailed to them in various executive com-
“munications, which called, imperiously called,
“for energy and decision.

“Rarely has a legislative body had more im-

“portant duties to fulfil, or a more glorious opportunity of signalizing itself, and laying claim to the public gratitude. Rarely have stronger motives existed to arouse every spark of public spirit or patriotism that had lain dormant in the heart. And I venture to assert, there hardly ever was a legislature that more completely disappointed public expectation—that more egregiously failed of its duty.

“*The imbecility, the folly, the vacillation, the want of system, of energy, and of decision, displayed by the majority—and the unyielding, stubborn, violent, and factious opposition of the minority, to all the measures for which the occasion so loudly called,—have affixed an indelible stain on the memory of the thirteenth Congress.—It will be long remembered with emotions neither of gratitude nor respect. Nowhere, I am persuaded, in the annals of legislation, is there to be found an instance of precious time more astonishingly wasted. It had been in session nearly five months when the news of peace arrived—and had but three weeks to sit. The spring, the season of hostility and depredation, was rapidly approaching. And what had it done to serve or save the country? What provision had it made of men or money? little or none. Nearly all the measures adapted to the emergency that had been brought forward in Congress, had been defeated.*”—P. 23.

“*The majority, imbecile and feeble, endeavoured to shelter themselves by censuring the factious and turbulent minority, who made these long speeches for the purpose of embarrassing them, and pro-*

“tracting their debates and proceedings. This
“plea cannot bear examination. Were it valid,
“a minority of six or eight persons, possessed of
“the faculty of making ‘long talks,’ might, at all
“times, totally baffle a majority, and paralyze the
“operations of government. Suppose each mem-
“ber of the minority to make a speech of a day
“or two, on every subject that arose for discus-
“sion—allow a reasonable time for replication to
“the majority—and the whole year would be in-
“adequate for that portion of business which the
“British parliament would with ease dispatch in
“a month.”—*Idem. p. 69.*

On the waste of time in discussing the question
on the repeal of the compensation law, the following
caustic observations were hazarded.

“Nothing has occurred in the variegated an-
“nals of that body much more reprehensible.
“Never was time more wretchedly spent—never
“talents more misemployed. It is not improba-
“ble that a third or a fourth part of the session
“was prostituted to, I had nearly said, never-end-
“ing debates on the repeal of this act, (the com-
“pensation act.) Almost every member capable
“of making a speech, filled two, three, four, or five
“columns of the newspapers, until the public was
“disgusted not more with the act than with its
“defenders and opposers.—The subject might
“have been compressed within the compass of
“a nutshell.

“Any man of tolerable talents might have ex-
“hausted all that was worth hearing on either side
“of the question in three hours.”—*Idem. p. 485.*

To the preceding proofs of the calumnious nature of your accusations, I might have made copious additions. But I feel full confidence that they are abundantly sufficient to convince every man of candour what extreme injustice you have done me and my book. That you are convinced, or, if you be, that you will acknowledge your error, is very doubtful. But whatever may be the result, so far as respects you, I feel perfectly indifferent, in the consciousness of fairness and impartiality of intention.

The Author of the Olive Branch.

Dec. 27, 1820.

APPENDIX.

A (CIRCULAR.)

" *Philadelphia, Dec. 20th, 1816.*

" SIR,

" THE encouragement with which the proposals for the eighth edition of the *Olive Branch* have been honoured, is sufficient to warrant the publication. I therefore intend to put it to press on or about the 1st February next, and to publish it early in April.

" I am sincerely desirous of correcting whatever errors may be in it, and rendering it as unexceptionable as my means of information and leisure will allow—I therefore request you will, if perfectly convenient, *unreservedly point out any of its errors or deficiencies that have occurred to you.* To any such suggestions, due attention shall be paid. I sincerely seek truth. And if I do not attain my object, it shall not be for want of suitable endeavours.

" I have in all former editions, notwithstanding my utmost exertions, laboured under a very great deficiency of documents. I most respectfully and earnestly solicit your aid, and shall receive with thankfulness any documents you may think proper to communicate. Such of them as you direct, shall be safely returned, by

" Your obedient, humble servant,

" M. CAREY.

" *Robt. H. Goldsborough, Esq.*"

B

" Washington, Franklin House,
January 6th, 1817.

" SIR,

" I HAVE just received a letter from you, in which you are pleased to announce to me the contemplated publication of the eighth edition of the Olive Branch, and request me " unreservedly " to point out its errors and deficiencies—professing yourself desirous to correct them, and earnestly solicit my aid in communicating any documents for that purpose.

" Allured, like many others, by the title of this book, I read it a year or two ago ; and I was as much surprised to find it a virulent party work, as to see a result so diametrically opposite to an avowed intention. If a zealous and artful partizan had employed his time in culling out incidents and fragments, and in colouring them to his own taste, with a view of degrading one of the great political parties in this country, and of elevating the other, he could scarcely have been more successful in his artifice, and false in his glosses, than the *impartial author of the Olive Branch has been.*

" I should not have been disappointed, if the work had not been *strictly* impartial ; for I did not anticipate it ; but my astonishment was great indeed to find, that it was wholly destitute of every claim to such character.

" They who expect that men, who have been long associated with conflicting political parties, will give fair and perfectly impartial representations of their respective merits and faults, will be most generally disappointed—the pride of men, their interest, and

, 1816.

proposals
have been
cation. I
about the
in April.
whatever
exception-
isure will
ectly con-
errors or
any such
I sincere-
object, it
rs.
anding my
great defi-
and earn-
thankful-
er to com-
l be safely

AREY.

their feelings forbid it—and the universal failure of works of this sort, which even bear strong marks and evidences of such a disposition, may be considered as conclusive. The course that the work called the Olive Branch, has taken, the hands into which it has almost exclusively fallen, demonstrate at once, that it is received in the world as a strong party work. In all parts of the country where I have been, it is found almost entirely in the possession of one party; and it is kept and considered by them as the magic wand of democracy, which is used among the ignorant to cleanse all it touches from the supposed sin of federalism.

“Those who are well acquainted with the political history of our country, neither require the aid of the Olive Branch nor are in danger from it—but those who may unsuspectingly look into it for information, and they will constitute much the greater portion of mankind, will be deceived, imposed on, and misled. A more subtle poison, more ingeniously disguised, was never ministered, than that which lies concealed and is circulated abroad through your book. It is a work deadly hostile to every hope of reconciliation, and tears up by the roots every fibre of forgiveness.

“If I am called on to point out its errors, *I would blot out every line of the work*, as being a cruel fraud upon the unsuspecting credulity of the unwary, and as a durable conservatory of materials calculated to extend error, and engender hatred.

“Thus, sir, I have briefly and “unreservedly” given you my view of the errors and defects of the Olive Branch; and it only remains for me to assure

you, that I have no documents in any degree allied to the character, or auxiliary to the design, of the work in hand.

"I have the honour to be, sir,

"Your very obedient servant,

"ROB. H. GOLDSBOROUGH.

"*Mr. Mathew Carey, Philadelphia.*"

C

"*Robt. H. Goldsborough, Esq.*

"SIR,

"*Philadelphia, Jan. 10, 1817.*

"YOURS of the 6th has just come to hand. As the mail takes but two days from Washington, I presume you were employed the 6th, 7th, and part of the 8th, in elaborating this dignified performance. You have in part adopted the advice of Horace—pity you did not adopt it more fully.

"That I sent you my circular is, believe me, sir, a subject of sincere regret. For the honour of the legislature of the union, of which you are an unworthy member, it is unfortunate that it provoked you to degrade and dishonour yourself by a tissue of scurrilous and "*false*" comments, which, but for the evidence before my eyes, I could not have believed there was an individual in congress capable of writing.

"I have used the word "*false*." This is language that ought not to pass between gentlemen. And however destitute of truth your assertions were, I should not have soiled my page with it, had you not used the word yourself, and thus broken down the barrier that ought to shut out from the intercourse of men of liberal minds the language of billingsgate.—Those who play at bowls must expect rubbers.

"The accusations against the Olive Branch are 'false,' malicious, and indecent; they have not the shadow of truth or candour. And I defy you to produce a single decent federalist in America who will support you in them.

"Judge Yates is a decided federalist. He may not be as rich as you, but his standing is higher. His mind is more cultivated. He pronounced in a large mixed company, that the "Olive Branch was the fairest and honestest book on politics he had ever read." On another occasion he explicitly declared it reflected honour on the author's head and heart.

"Nicholas Biddle is also a decided federalist. He stands on as high ground as any man in America. He is far your superior in head and heart. In a word, he is in the fullest sense a real American. I have now before me a billet from him in these words:—(To Mr. Carey.) "Mr. Biddle takes this opportunity of expressing the satisfaction which he has derived from reading his manly appeal from the passions to the reason of contending parties." Dec. 4. 1814.

"William Rawle, esq. stands high in your party for head and heart, like N. Biddle. No man can doubt his federalism. He acknowledged to a friend of mine lately, that the book contained a great many good things—that I struck about both parties very freely and justly, but that I struck one party with the right hand and the other with the left—and that a man struck harder with his right hand than with his left. This is the criticism of a gentleman, and is probably correct. It is likely enough, that I may have been, though unintentionally, more severe on the federal-

ists than the democrats. I pretend to no exemption from human frailty. But that to correct a book of nearly 500 pages, you "would blot out every line as being a cruel fraud upon the unsuspecting credulity of the unwary," would in any literary court, or court of honour, insure you an unanimous verdict of fool or madman.

"My book, thank God, has done and is doing good. I bless that Being who has made me the humble instrument to accomplish so holy a purpose as that of allaying the horrible violence of party rage, excited by wicked men, which had brought this blessed country to the verge of destruction. Its success is pretty strong evidence in its favor. The approbation and decisive testimony of some of the best men in the country amply repay me for the abuse of some of the worst. And be assured, sir, that your billingsgate attack affords me as much pride as any of the highest encomiums with which it has been honoured. The reprobation of such a violent, outrageous, and indecent partizan as you are, is exquisitely gratifying.

"In enumerating the persons who have applauded this work, I have passed over Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, Dr. Eustis, R. Rush, W. Wirt, W. Sampson, P. Freneau, judge Moore, &c. &c. as you might appeal from them as democrats. But there are among them men who will never be dishonoured by being compared with R. H. Goldsborough, even by his own party.

"Your exalted situation as a member of the most respectable deliberative body in the world, would have secured you from the language I have used,

had you not forfeited all claim to delicacy by your own coarse style—by the use of the words “*false*,” “*imposed on*,” “*deceived*,” “*subtile poison*,” “*fraud*,” &c. &c. No man that ever lived, even gen. Washington himself, should use to me this language with impunity.

“The work has had as scurrilous critics and carpers as you; they have used harsh names; they have availed themselves, like you, of the blackguard’s vocabulary. But, sir, they, like you, have dealt in general terms. Neither they, nor you, have pointed out a single error of importance—I dare you to a fair investigation of its contents, if you are capable of such an investigation. I have earnestly and sedulously sought after truth, and I believe I have not sought in vain. There are, I trust, as few important errors in the Olive Branch as in any work of equal extent and embracing such a variety of delicate subjects.

“I now draw to a close. Your letter rendered me heavily your debtor. I hope the debt is paid, with any little accruing interest—I therefore consider the account as closed. You may open it anew, or close the correspondence, as you judge proper. I am not ambitious of the honour; and am equally indifferent about your love or your hatred—your praise or your abuse—your silence or your reply.

“I remain, Sir,

“with all due regard,

“Your most obsequious humble servant,

“MATHEW CAREY.

“*January 10th, 1817.*”

"P. S. I feel disposed to publish this correspondence in the next edition of my work, in order that the state of Maryland may know how dignified, polite, and accomplished a representative it has in the Senate of the United States. This is under consideration. I shall not decide on it hastily."

D

(COPY.)

"Washington, Franklin House,
January 12, 1817.

"Mr. Mathew Carey.

"SIR,

"YOUR letter of the 8th, just handed to me this evening, is filled with wrath against me, for complying with your request, contained in a letter of the 20th Dec. past, of unreservedly "*pointing out the errors and deficiencies of the Olive Branch.*"

"HAD I passed over your letter in silence, I should have been subjected, in your opinion, to the imputation of neglect and ill manners ;—and if I undertook to obey your commands, in justice to my opinion, I could not have said less.

"AS my letter is undergoing the slow process of your consideration, whether you will publish it or not, I hope you will be enabled to decide by the time the eighth edition of the Olive Branch is ready for the press, and that you will oblige me so far as to determine in favor of its publication, together with the whole of our correspondence, as I am quite willing to risk what you consider my criticism before the world.

"Your humble Servant,

"ROBERT H. GOLDSBOROUGH."

E

"Robert H. Goldsborough, Esq.

"SIR,

"I HAVE received yours of the 12th, and duly weighed its contents. You are, give me leave to observe, egregiously mistaken.—Your letter excited no "*wrath*." It excited emotions of a very different nature. I leave you to judge what they were.

"A Circular does not necessarily require an answer. Your logic is therefore incorrect.—But, sir, if it did, the studied inoffensiveness of its style, the obvious propriety and candour of its object, the age of the writer, your own character, and the high grade you fill in society, imperiously required that it should be answered with decorum and politeness. You have equally disregarded the dictates of both.

"When you projected the novel mode of "*correcting*" the Olive Branch, by "*blotting out every line*," you forgot that I have as freely reprobated the errors of your political opponents, as of your friends. I have censured the folly of their proceedings in the national convention, *their opposition to a navy, their beggarly economy, their factious clamours against the alien and sedition laws, their pernicious errors on the subject of the Loans during the war, their mismanagement at Washington, &c. &c.* This conduct, with a liberal mind, would have saved the work and its author from the virulence you have displayed.

"You say that "works professing to point out errors of conflicting parties do not succeed." I have never seen, nor have you, any other work of this description. Political writers are almost universally devoted to abuse one party and eulogize the other—very little scrupulous about veracity. And, sir, I

feel a high, (and I hope not an illaudable,) gratification, that I have steered a course, I may say, literally untrodden. I have, however, seen a quotation from a work by Lord Somers, the title of which leads me to believe that it partook somewhat of this character.

"Whether I shall publish this correspondence, as I am earnestly urged, is yet uncertain. If I courted a triumph over a wanton aggressor, completely and irretrievably prostrate, I should not hesitate a moment. But I have so many objects of higher importance to occupy my time and attention, that I can hardly resolve to display to the admiring world the splendid talents—the refined urbanity—and the critical acumen of the Hon. R. H. Goldsborough.

"Yours, &c.

"MATHEW CAREY.

"*Philadelphia, Jan. 14, 1817.*"

THE END.